1: Nimuendaju E-5 (1929-1936) 1946 SO8 Timbira SO8

accompanied them, founding near by the aldea of Peleguim under the chief Francisco. Others remained near Praia Grande under the leadership of a fugitive from justice named Marciano.

In 1900 these Timbira were reinforced by some twenty new migrants from the Pindaré. In that area chief Karinẽ"'s band, which lived along the Riacho Gallego, had been exterminated by the Guajajára, who were aided by a rubber-gathering expedition. The survivors, led by chief Manoel Pixuna, fled to their tribesmen on the Gurupy.

In 1903 the Urubú attacked and killed several members of an encampment of these Timbira on a western affluent of the Gurupy-una, where they were gathering capahi oil. In 1906 the aldea of Peleguim reunited with that of Praia Grande. A new epidemic of measles claimed its victims, among them the "chief" Marciano, whereupon the survivors once more joined the Ayres Pereira family, which after being ousted from Bôa Vista by the Urubú had resettled upstream at the mouth of the Araparytíua.

During a six months' stay on the upper Gurupy in 1914 and 1915 I encountered this group several times. They were by then reduced to a population of 41, but in contrast to the Tembé had remained comparatively pure. They were peaceable, trusting, and loyal. Most of the men, but only a few of the women, spoke some Portuguese; however, in consequence of their proximity to the Tembé of Praia Grande, nearly all spoke likewise the Tupí dialect of that tribe. Among themselves they conversed exclusively in their rough, guttural Timbira tongue; the chief, Pedro Čumeré, dictated to me a list of sixty-two words, for the most part reproduced in my Vokabular der Timbiras von Maranhão und Pará.

Even in their own settlement—a bare hundred paces from the Ayres Pereira household—they wore more or less clothing and had abandoned the ancient mode of dressing the hair. Only the older men still had extended ears, but removal of eyebrows and lashes was still a general practice. Bows and arrows were used only to shoot fish, having been superseded by firearms in the chase.

A year before my arrival they had celebrated an old-style festival, with racing logs and masks. Of these I was able to view the remains: cylindrical headdresses with two long horns and a feather mosaic; their term ku' uxį'd corresponds to the Rąmkõ'kamekra kõkrį't.[*] It had been the very last festival of the kind, for the only elder capable of conducting it had died since the performance.

At the time of my visit the Timbira had unfortunately given up farming, to which they had begun to devote themselves, in order to gather capahi oil, hire themselves out as river boatmen, or otherwise enter the service of the rubber gatherers, a mode of life bound to lead to economic and social ruin. Nevertheless they maintained their population for some years to come, for the census of 1919 sets their number at 43. Today, after their transfer by the Serviço to the Tembé station (Felippe Camarão), at the mouth of the Jararaca, there are said to be only a few survivors.

I could not ascertain a tribal name for these Timbira, possibly because the bands that emigrated from the Pindaré at different times belonged to different tribes which united only on the Gurupy. In their earlier home on the Pindaré there are no longer any Timbira.

2–3. The Krẽyé of Bacabal; the Kukóekamekra

These two tribes, together with the extinct Pobzé, probably correspond to Ribeiro's "Timbiras do Baixo Mearim,"[**]—people, he declares, who are called "Guajojaras."

[*] It designates a water monster and the society named after it.

[**] Ribeiro, Memoria, § 57; Roteiro, 26.

1: Nimuendajú E-5 (1929-1936) 1946 SOS Timbira SOS
Ge 525

T 356 412

twigs tied together. Garbage is accumulated on the firefan or an old mat and carried to the border of the steppe, to the rear of the house. However, there are women who are not particular about a little dirt more or less, and who will leave the rinds of fruits and gnawed bones lying about all day long.

T 356 751

The domestic vermin include crickets, cockroaches, small ants, and jiggers. The first two are simply put up with. As for ant nests, the Indians try to destroy them with hot water; and as soon as they become aware of jiggers, they periodically pour water on the floor, which they stamp on till it grows firm. Those which have penetrated the skin are removed with a bone needle—for which at present an iron one may be substituted.

T 264 515

All utensils are rather dirty, for it never occurs to them to clean objects before storage. The clothing that is obligatory on visits to Barra do Corda is subsequently stowed away for one's own or another's future use without attention to the accumulated dirt and perspiration. Dishes are never washed after use, though this is done before again using them. Storage bags and sleeping mats are often filthy, though the latter are washed when the dirt grows too offensive.

T 514

The Indians go to stool in the steppe or in the mallow bushes to the rear of their houses, at an adequate distance. They clean themselves with kerneled maize cobs or with two little sticks broken off on the way. The feces of infants in the house or on the space before it are at once strewn with sand and removed.

T [828]

The Canella are very sensitive as to evil smells, though they do not always perceive the same things as stench as civilized people. As noted, they regard as pleasant the odor of urucú, from which Neobrazilians recoil, and they are strangely indifferent to the odor of the skunk (*Mephitis suffocans*), which to my nostrils is the most horrible to be found in the Timbira country. However, excrements and putrefying matter are intolerable to them and are removed posthaste.

T 827 516

Breaking wind is considered indecorous indoors, but rather a pleasure on the steppe or in the plaza among the younger generation. Indeed, young girls sometimes vie with one another in this respect and try to enhance the effect by hitting their own buttocks with their clenched fists. However, this happens only among themselves, never in the presence of older people.

G T 177 241 114

Farming

It is erroneous to picture the Gê generically as hunters and gatherers, with at best an occasional group adopting a little cultivation under Tupí influence.[128] Actually, not a single Akwẽ or Timbira-Kayapó tribe failed to farm; and as to the latter, at least, I am convinced that they learnt nothing from the Tupí about agriculture. Old travelers sometimes decree that such and such a tribe lived "only by hunting" or even "by robbery only." Thus, Saint-Adolphe alleges that the Apinayé had grown accustomed to a vegetable diet only through the plantations made by the military colony of São João de Araguaya (founded in 1797). He overlooked the passage in which Villa Real—four years prior to the establishment of that colony—urged a treaty of peace with the Apinayé on the ground of their cultivating manioc on a large scale.[129]

T 241 177 114

Following Ribeiro and Pohl, Snethlage states that the Timbira when first in contact with civilization already practiced a well-defined system of tillage and rightly surmises that the four species listed by Ribeiro do not exhaust the number of their crops. At present the Rąmkõ'kamekra plant the following species, which shall be

[128] For a typical expression of this view see Schmidt, Kulturkreise und Kulturschichten in Südamerika, 1023.

[129] Viagem, 409.

1: Nimuendajú 2-5 (1929-1936) 1946 SCS Timbira SCS

Ge 515

divided (according to their own account) into those anciently known and those adopted after intercourse with Neobrazilians.

Aboriginally known:

Maize, pĩhỹ (*Zea mays*)
Sweet potato, yɣt (*Batatas edulis*)
Yam, krĩrõ' (*Dioscorea sp.*)
Manioc, kwɣr (*Manihot utilissima*)
Sweet manioc, kwɣr-krahɣ'k (*Manihot aipi*)
Horse bean, pɣakrjt' (*Phaseolus sp.*)
Arrowroot, kurĩare (*Maranta sp.*)
Gourd, khõdakhɣ'k (*Cucurbita sp.*)
Ground nut, krahɣ' (*Arachis sp.*)
[European name lacking], krupá (*Cissus sp.*)
Cotton, krahɣ't (*Gossypium sp.*)
Bottle gourd, khõkin (*Lagenaria sp.*)
Cuyuá, khõkõ (*Crescentia sp.*)
Cuya de rama, ——— (*Cucurbita sp.*)
Urucú, pɣ (*Bixa orellana*)

Adopted after intercourse with Neobrazilians:

Rice
Watermelon
Banana
Sugar-cane
Cayenne pepper
Beans
Orange
Lemon
Mango
Papaya
Pineapple
Tobacco
Tinguy (fish poison)

The only plant-origin myth relates to maize and coincides with the Apinayé equivalent.[36] It combines two principal motives—the world tree and the star wife. The former occurs among Carib peoples of Guiana, having been recorded by Koch-Grünberg among the Taulipáng, by Brett among the Akawoí, by Im Thurn and Roth for the Carib proper, while Nordenskiöld reports it from the Arawakan Čáne of the northern Chaco. The other motive seems to be derived from the Serénte, who far more logically connect it not with the origin of maize, but with a visit to the sky.

Nordenskiöld derives Gê yɣt (sweet potato) from Tupí yetĵ'k, which is supposed to point to a transmission of the species from the Tupí. I consider this highly improbable, for the Northwestern Gê would never have lopped off an accented syllable, but would presumably have transmuted the hypothetical loan-word into yetí (cf. below as to the assimilation of Tupí tapití). Further, there is a striking fact: Tupí agriculture stresses maize and manioc, the Northwestern and Central Gê emphasize sweet potatoes and yams, which virtually furnish their daily bread but play a more modest role among the Tupí.

In my description of Apinayé tillage I noted that the Northwestern and Central Gê probably did not acquire manioc from either the Tupí or the Karayá, whose methods of employment and preparation are totally distinct.[37] Against such borrowing may further be cited the term kwɣr, uniformly distributed as it is over the entire Northwestern branch, from the Suyá to the remotest Timbira tribes. From Ribeiro's denial of the Krahõ' Indians' familiarity with *the preparation of flour*—"farinha de pau," that is, flour from unfermented manioc[38]—it does not by any means follow, as Snethlage assumes,[39] that they lacked manioc altogether. For they may very well have used it as they do today, in the form of pies baked in earth ovens. In recent times the Eastern Timbira have adopted the preparation of flour together with the basketry press, not from the Tupí-Guajajára, but from Neobraziliana. This is indicated by their designating this utensil not by the Guajajára term tipiti, but by its disfigured Neobrazilian form tapití, assimilated to Timbira phonology as tapti. They further give to the roasting pan its Portuguese name, forno.

The species of arrowroot planted by the Rąmkõ'kamekra differs from the Neobrazilian form.

[36] Nimuendajú, The Apinayé, 165–167.
[37] *Ibid.*, 98.
[38] Memoria, § 72.
[39] Nordestbras. Ind., 162.

1: Nimuendajú E-5 (1929-1936) 1946 SOS Timbira SOS
Ge SLS

Notwithstanding Ribeiro's explicit assertion that the Krahô' of 1816 did not know how to raise or treat cotton, it seems to me to have been native to all Northwestern and Central Gê before the advent of civilization. In the first place, cotton is employed in a variety of ways—in wholly aboriginal forms of industry as well as in ceremonial, notably in the boys' initiation festival. A second argument is the technique of plaiting cotton carrying slings for children, though it must be admitted that according to Ribeiro[58] their material was burity bast. Third, there is the form of the spindle, deviating from the neighboring Neobrazilian and Guajajára parallels (pl. 18, *a*); finally, all the Northwestern tribes share the same word for cotton.

Ethnographically, however, the kupá is the most important of Timbira cultivated species. This creeper (*Cissus* sp.) has starchy tendrils, which attain the thickness of an inch and are baked in earth ovens. It does not occur wild; is restricted, so far as my information goes, to the Eastern and Western Timbira and the Serénte, all of them Gé tribes; and is pronouncedly xerophil. Accordingly, it is probably a very old cultivated species peculiar to these tribes, which could not have borrowed it from either Neobrazilians or any of their present Indian neighbors.

As for tobacco, my corresponding comment on it among the Apinayé also holds for the Eastern Timbira. Apparently they were *acquainted* with it before the coming of civilization, but even nowadays they do not plant it, the timid attempts of this or that Rąmkõ'kamekra having invariably failed to yield satisfactory results. I did not observe a single case of its magical or ceremonial use among these people. Both sexes, however, are passionate smokers and constantly beg for tobacco. They smoke cigarettes of maize husks or tauary bast; a few also use little clay pipe bowls bent at an angle, with bamboo stems (kačím; Portuguese, caximbo). The chief Kukrãčą' manufactures very pretty and neatly finished specimens, partly for sale to Neobrazilians, among whom the same form is in vogue.

Urucú and pepper shrubs, as well as sporadic *Crescentia*, mango, lemon or orange trees, are planted beside or behind dwellings, the young plants being guarded against roving pigs and fowls by little fences of vertically set sticks or by circumscribed quadrangles made of former racing logs.

The true plantations (pl. 5, *a*) are situated in the narrow *galeria* forests by the brooks. Since annually new clearings are necessary, the distance of the plots from the village steadily increases. When the transportation of the crops becomes altogether too cumbersome, the Indians are obliged to move their village near the new plots. Thus, the Rąmkõ'kamekra migrate with fair regularity about every ten years from the Ribeirão Santo Estevão to the Ribeirão dos Bois. While they are stationed by one of the two creeks for from ten to twenty years, the timber of the other grows again sufficiently to permit the creation of new plots.

Each individual family has its plantation, owned by the woman. No single man owns a plot, but many an unmarried woman claims one and gets her kinsmen to make the requisite clearings, this being an exclusively masculine task. For the last hundred years only iron axes have been in use, different brands being very well distinguished by the natives, who rightly prefer the North American "Collins" blades. No one nowadays is able to haft such stone blades as are still occasionally found. The method of felling timber with iron tools coincides with Neobrazilian practice. Though not every Indian has a good ax suitable for the purpose, he may borrow a relative's.

The several plots belonging to the married woman of an extended family usually, but not always, adjoin one another. At times one individual family may simul-

[58] Memoria, § 12.

1: Nimuendajú E-5 (1929-1936) 1946 SOS Timbira SOS

taneously own plots in two separate sites. Boundaries between the plantations of different owners are generally marked by rows of maize plants. The size of a plot depends on the tree-feller's industry. One hectare (not quite two and a half acres) is probably the minimum for a single family, many owning double that area, but estimates are difficult because the form is never regular. Pohl sets the diameter of a Põrekamekra extended family's farm at one hundred fathoms—a somewhat smaller estimate. The yield naturally hinges by no means exclusively on the extent of the clearing and the number of plants, but very largely on the care bestowed on them. In this respect the Eastern Timbira are often incredibly negligent. To be sure, many families violently exert themselves in felling timber and planting their crops, so that they could well harvest far more than the needs of subsistence. But after this initial effort they pay little attention, so that the farm goes to rack and ruin. There is no such personal sentimental bond between cultivated plants and their owner as I discovered among the Apinayé.[180]

Both sexes jointly plant, weeding is almost wholly a feminine job, harvesting exclusively so. No man will ever haul a carrying-basket with fruits; at most he may

Fig. 4. Sling. ½ nat. size.

carry a few maize cobs or tubers in his hands. At the time of maturation swarms of dwarf parrots attack the plantations, which are mostly guarded by the bigger boys, armed with slings (fig. 4) or, more rarely, with pellet bows (pl. 15, *a*) borrowed from the Neobrazilians.

Except where the plots of the steppe Timbira adjoin impenetrable riparian forests they are protected by coarse, heavy fences made of logs resting on forked supports. These enclosures are to shut out not, as Snethlage supposed, game animals, but rather the cattle of neighboring ranchers, the worst plague that afflicts their fields. But notwithstanding these fences the beasts, particularly if of the zebu breed, often break down the barrier and will within a few hours destroy the whole crop. Fazendeiros have more than once deliberately driven their herds into the Indians' plantations, especially if they were "rightful owners" of Indian lands, in order to compel the natives to abandon the site. Only about ten years ago this was the fate of the Mãkamekra horde of the Krahõ' and their plantations at the sources of the Rio Manoel Alves Pequeño. If the Indians then shoot down one of these pests and consume it by way of indemnifying themselves for the loss of their farm, the stockmen wax highly indignant over such "cattle lifting."

Of the wild animals harmful to the crops the dwarf parrots rank as the worst. No sooner has the sun risen than they swarm from their nocturnal resting places in the riparian trees and swiftly pounce upon the crops, screaming aloud. Thus they cause considerable havoc, not so much by what they consume as by the quantities of scattered and spoiled fruit. This applies, above all, to the ripening maize

[180] Nimuendajú, The Apinayé, 90.

1: Nimuendajú E-5 (1929-1936) 1946 SOS Timbira SOS

and rice. An Indian who takes no precautions against these birds is sure to lose his entire yield, irrespective of the amount planted. The only antidote is to have a guardian stationed in the plots throughout the daytime during the season so that he may at once repel the intruders. This is achieved by shouts or a variety of missiles—stones, palm nuts, and clay balls hurled with the hand, with slings (hũkaipẽ'rẽa), or with a pellet bow.

Among the Rąmkõ'kamekra and Krahõ' I have seen boys setting snares for parrots. To a hoop about 20 cm. in diameter and spanned by a network of cords they attach a dozen nooses of tucum fiber (Rąmkõ'kamekra) or, among the Krahõ', of horsehair. After placing some rice ears or similar lures below these snares, they tie the hoop in horizontal position to a wooden fork, which in turn is fastened to the top of as long a bamboo pole as possible. The entire contraption, which is visible from a considerable distance, is erected in the plantation, and as soon as the parrots pounce upon the rice ears their feet are caught in the nooses (pl. 17, *a*, *b*).

White neighbors are wont to mock at Rąmkõ'kamekra farmers, alleging that they raise nothing or at least nothing worth while and that they subsist by theft and begging. Few take the trouble even to look at the Indian plantations. Yet toward the close of 1930 these scoffers were obliged willy-nilly to acknowledge publicly that the Indians had planted considerable crops. At that time part of

Fig. 5. Digging stick. 1/10 nat. size.

Maranhão suffered from a famine, for the manioc crop had failed over a wide area so that the generally indispensable flour made from this plant was lacking. In Barra do Corda the scarcity forced the local officials to ration the sale of what little was to be had. At the peak of this plight the Rąmkõ'kamekra suddenly appeared with several horseloads of manioc flour and saved the townsmen since by an odd chance they alone had saved their yield. In the meantime, not only the half-starved Guajajára from beyond the Rio Corda had billeted themselves on the residents of Ponto, but even the Neobrazilians came to offer the Rąmkõ'kamekra their labor in return for manioc. When I reached Barra do Corda in 1931 and inquired in a shop whether good flour was to be had, the owner answered, "Very good flour, indeed; it's from the aldea Ponto!" Yet in this town many "whites" had declared categorically that they would never eat anything prepared by "these nauseating beasts" (*esses bichos nojentos*). Many Indians are deterred from ampler production of manioc flour for sale only by the lack of means of transport, for hauling a flour sack on one's back over a distance of seventy-eight kilometers is something of a hardship even for a Timbira educated as a log racer.

Rąmkõ'kamekra economic life was most significantly affected during the last twenty years by the Indians' turning to intensive preparation of manioc flour and to rice cultivation. At present these originally alien articles of food are about to gain ascendancy both in the kitchen and, next to basketwork, in trade. Agriculturally the Rąmkõ'kamekra have advanced farther since their contact with civilization than the Guajajára, whose aboriginal farming was anciently far more intensive, but whose productivity has since rather diminished than grown.

Even today the Indians in part use their aboriginal planting stick, which is invariably of very hard wood, either pau roxo or pau candeia, 75–100 cm. in length, round and flattened spade-fashion at the butt (fig. 5). Sometimes this flattened

1: Nimuendajú E-5 (1929-1936) 1946 SOS Timbira SOS

241 412 section is clearly set off from the round part. The Eastern Timbira term for this implement, plčwapo, means "sharp, flat wood." In probing for tubers, especially for sweet potatoes, these farmers use a special pointed stick some 40 cm. in length, which is often derived from the end of a worn-out bow. These two are the only native agricultural implements that persist in contemporary use in Ponto.

242 Except for rice and bitter manioc, plants of one species rarely occupy one continuous major strip, the general practice being to dispose them in patches here and there or mixed with other crops.

243 177 Among Timbira cultivated plants, maize holds the place of honor, being the only one whose origin is explained by a myth. Though Ribeiro mentions only two indigenous varieties,[10] the Rąmkõ'kamekra raise four kinds of small-kerneled maize which they derive from the legendary Star maiden, Kaččkwę'i, viz. 1, põhįpéy, true or good maize, with small, white, and very soft kernels; 2, põhįyaká, white maize, somewhat larger, but otherwise similar; 3, põhįkreakáre, with small blue kernels; and 4, to'rómre, with black kernels of medium size. The large-kerneled varieties, põhįti, are additions from the Neobrasilians.

243 221 805 The appearance of the Pleiades (krot) after sunset on the western horizon is a harbinger of the rainy season and indicates the need for starting a clearing in order to plant at the first rainfall. This ushers in the meipimrą'k period (p. 84), roughly coterminous with the rainy season since it ends with the commencement of the maize harvest.

243 624 796 *Horticultural rites.*—A man named Võkrãkę', whose maternal home is on the east side of the village circle, is charged with ceremonially opening the planting as well as the harvesting of maize. On the former occasion there figures a small gourd bowl whose edge is painted with urucú and which is filled with maize kernels. Võkrãkę' takes this container to the plaza and sets it on the ground, where people dance around it. Then he takes the bowl to his wife's plot and plants the maize, whereupon others are free to follow his example. After this functionary's death his office descends to the matrilineal kinsman to whom he has transferred his name.

243 782 796 When the maize stands about 1 m. high, another ceremony is held in order to induce the Moon, Pųduvrį, to ward off noxious animal parasites from the plants. Clapping together their hands and singing "Pųduvrįre kayš'yš' rivahá vaká mopó tu krére," all the villagers of both sexes then slowly dance in the plaza on a full-moon night, moving from the north southward under the leadership of a precentor wielding his rattle. In the rainy season they fear a lunar eclipse even far more than during the dry period, for they think it would destroy the crops. The relevant ceremonies will be described later.

776 782 In case of drought, however, not the Moon, but the Sun, Pųt, is addressed. Three old men then march round the boulevard, singing "kedeti,/imąpéy/vayakrį' (Grandfather [= sun],/be good to me and/gladden me [by rain])."

796 624 243 No one—not even the woman owning the plot—is free to eat of the crop until the councilors have tasted of it and declared it mature. The maize harvest is opened by the same man, Võkrãkę', who inaugurated the planting season. First, a hunting party leaves to secure meat for the village. When they return with game, Võkrãkę' asks his wife to fetch from the plots a carrying basket full of maize ears, which are husked and cooked into meat pies to be served to the councilors in the plaza. Of the husks Võkrãkę' makes some twenty shuttlecocks, which his son Rąrą'k takes to the plaza and throws, one by one, into the circle of players. These throw each ball toward one another with the palm of the hand as long as possible without per-

[10] Memoria, § 11.

ls Nimuendajú E-5 (1929-1936) 1946 SOS Timbira SOS

mitting it to drop to the ground. If a player at last allows it to fall, it is not picked up, but Rąrą'k throws a new one into the ring until all the shuttlecocks are forfeited.

After midnight the men of both rainy season moieties assemble by two fires in the plaza, whither a man named Kái brings them a bundle of unfeathered arrows with balls of maize husk covering their points (pl. 16, *a*). The players step up in pairs (so as to represent in each case both moieties) and try to hit each other with the arrows, which they throw with their hands.

In 1929, during my first visit, when I had not yet come to understand anything of the ceremonial, I had the following experience. An Indian wishing to show me a special favor had some sweet potatoes brought from the plantation for my delectation before the harvest time had been officially announced. In my innocence I eulogized the generous donor before the elders in the plaza, but at once noted the silent, but significant glances passed among them. The donor was thus placed in an ambiguous position and incurred censure, though in deference to me this was not carried too far. However, the culprit was obliged to hurry to the plaza with a bowlful of baked sweet potatoes for the elders, who consumed them and declared the crop ready for harvesting. Similarly I observed that they received two watermelons when the harvest for these fruits was opened.

Another ceremony, hõčwa (= pointed leaf, i.e., sweet potato), is devoted to the sweet potatoes. It always takes place when these plants produce their vines, immediately preceding the ceremony just described of opening the maize harvest. The performers, numbering some twenty, are organized like the festive organizations, but their activities are confined to this single annual appearance at the hõčwa. As in these other societies, membership is inherited matrilineally with the personal name. The lodge is situated on the north side of the eastern half of the village circle. Like the other societies, this, too, has a leader, the hõčwakédeti (grandfather of the hõčwa). He wears hanging down the nape of his neck from a neck cord a feather from the tail of a red arara. The present incumbent is the chief Hąktokót, but the title hõčwa itself belongs to the bearer of the name Rąrą'k, who in this capacity wears falcon down on his body and has a little whistle of Mataco type.[305] The participants also include a precentor and two girl auxiliaries.

The members paint the entire body with white clay, and their faces are marked with two obtuse-angled parallel lines traced with the finger tips with the same pigment. The apex of one of these angles is on the forehead, while its sides extend over the temples; the point of the other angle is on the tip of the nose and its sides are drawn across the cheeks.

The hõčwa actor proper is decorated at sunset. At nightfall a big fire is kindled in the plaza, where the precentor remains waiting. Finally the hõčwa leaves his maternal home and walks to the plaza, where the precentor begins singing to the accompaniment of a rattle, while the hõčwa, with his pinčwę'ipey behind him, sounds his whistle. Thereupon the hõčwakédeti steps out of his maternal house, dances toward the plaza, but immediately returns in order to bring with him the entire membership, who now dance in the plaza with outstretched arms.

Toward midnight all the women and girls come out of their houses and range themselves in groups at the opening of the radial paths leading from their maternal homes to the plaza. The hõčwa march round the plaza from group to group, singing before each of them.

The object of this ceremony is to ensure for each extended family an adequate supply of sweet potatoes, corresponding to the number of its female members.

[305] Izikowitz, Musical Instruments, 333.

1s Nimuendajú E-5 (1929-1936) 1946 SO8 Timbira SO8

241
482

a

b

372

c

MANIOC PLANTATION; WOMAN CARRYING MAIZE AND MANIOC; FIRE DRILLING